AGRICOLA OF TACITUS

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P. CORNELI TACITI VITA AGRICOLAE.

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

PUBLIUS* CORNELIUS TACITUS, the greatest of the Roman historians, flourished in the reign of the Emperor Trajan (A.D. 98–117). There is no positive evidence as to the place of his birth, or its date, or the time of his death. A tradition of no great value makes him a native of Interamna. This was the birthplace of the Emperor Tacitus, who claimed kinship with the historian. As to the year of his birth, we know only that he was somewhat older than his intimate friend, the younger Pliny, who was born A.D. 61 or 62. Pliny himself says (Epp. vii. 20) that they were *propemodum aequales;* but adds: *adulescentulus, cum jam tu fama gloriaque flores, te sequi... concupiscebam.* These expressions may point to a difference in age of four or five, possibly even eight or ten, years: we cannot well place the birth of Tacitus earlier than 51 or later than 56. The best authorities are generally agreed upon A.D. 54. Two or three considerations tell in favor of an earlier date. In the Life of Agricola (Chap. III.) he appears to reckon himself among those who, being *juvenes* at the accession of Domitian, had arrived *ad senectutem* under the rule of that tyrant. Now forty-five was the age of *senectus* according to Roman law; and as Domitian died in 96, Tacitus can hardly have been born much later than 51. Again, the narration of

* His *praenomen* has been usually given as Gaius, but is now generally accepted to have been Publius, on the authority of one of the best manuscripts.

the events of the years 68 and 69 in the Histories, appears to be that of an eye-witness; if so, we cannot suppose him to have been less than fifteen at that date. Another consideration is that Tacitus was *praetor* A.D. 88, which was the first year he could have held that office, under the rules of the Republic, if he had been born in 51. These rules were, it is true, no longer in force; nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that they still exerted some influence, and that this office would not be held much before the traditional age. It may be added that Pliny was probably not far from fifty-five when he made use of the expression *propemodum aequales;* and that this term might apply very well to two men of fifty-five and sixty-three or five. He probably died about A.D. 116.

Of the events of his life very little is known. He married the daughter of Agricola in the year A.D. 78 (Chap. IX.), and it has been conjectured that he was a member of his military family during his administration of Aquitania the three previous years. He was *praetor* A.D. 88, and was afterwards absent from Rome for four years, during which period his father-in-law died, A.D. 93 (Chap. XLV.). He was consul under Nerva, A.D. 97. We learn from several passages in Pliny that he was a distinguished lawyer and orator, as well as historian.

It is almost by accident that we possess the writings of Tacitus, for the manuscripts in which they have come down to us are very few, and badly mutilated. These writings are: 1. *The Dialogue of Orators* (De Oratoribus), an early composition, so different in style from his later works that many have thought it could not have been written by him. 2. *The Life of Agricola.* 3. *Germany:* a description of the nations of Germany, which forms our best source of information as to their early condition. It is about as large a work as the *Agricola.* 4. *The Histories, in* fourteen books: a detailed narration of events

from the death of Nero, A.D. 68, to that of Domitian, A.D. 96. Only the first four books and part of the fifth are extant. 5. *The Annals:* properly an introduction to the Histories, less full and minute, but in a more finished and maturer style. It consisted of sixteen books, and embraced the period from the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, to that of Nero, A.D. 68. Four books and parts of four others are missing. He planned also a history of the good times after Domitian, but seems never to have undertaken it.

Tacitus was in theory a republican, and had no liking for the empire. He knew very well that the Republic could never be restored, and was satisfied that the beneficent rule of Nerva and Trajan had solved the problem of government for the Romans, and that they now enjoyed the best practicable combination of liberty and authority. But he could not forget the horrors of the evil times that had gone before, and he gives full and unrestrained expression to his hatred of the tyranny of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. His style glows with intensity of feeling when he speaks of them; and he often rises on these occasions into a stern and passionate eloquence. This appears also to have been his characteristic as an orator; for Pliny says that when engaged in the prosecution of a cruel and unjust provincial governor, he spoke *eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi ejus inest,* σεμνῶς,—which last word we may render, "in a stately, earnest style." As a writer, he had the same characteristics; he excels in graphic power, though he is often obscure from excessive condensation: but the student is always repaid for his efforts by the intrinsic excellence of his writings.

The Life of Agricola stands by itself in ancient literature as a biography of the modern type,—not merely the worthily related life of an eminent man, like those of Plutarch and Nepos, but a personal tribute of affection and admiration by

one of his own household. No classical work is therefore better fitted to form part of a course which aims to contain only what is intrinsically best and most characteristic. It is one of those *tonic* writings which help to elevate and strengthen the moral nature and build up character.

My aim, in the present edition, has been to meet the needs of such a course. I have left special philological training to the teacher, only making occasional reference to the leading grammars. On the other hand, I have undertaken to explain the historical references with great fulness, and to give needful assistance in all real difficulties. In the text I have for the most part followed Kritz, but have not hesitated to vary from it when there seemed to be good reason, especially in several cases to restore the reading of the manuscripts. In preparing the commentary, I have been chiefly assisted by Kritz, but have also made use of Dräger, Church and Brodribb, and Freund. My special thanks are due to Prof. TRACY PECK of Cornell University, who has carefully read the whole proof, and whose suggestions have frequently caused me to change or modify my opinions.

It is my intention to follow this, as early as possible, with an edition of the Germania of Tacitus.

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN.

MADISON, WIS., May 20, 1880.

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

I. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit; adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit; quam non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

II. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse; neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam *generis humani* aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper

sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere. III. Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cottidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum Securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur assumpserit: natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et, ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber, honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

IV. GNAEUS JULIUS AGRICOLA, vetere et illustri Forojuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. *Pater Julius* Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquen-

tiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gaii Caesaris meritus; namque M. Silanum accusare jussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se in prima juventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulcritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas; retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

v. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam retulit; sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit. Trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intersepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur ac summa rerum et recuperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi junxit; idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo; nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit; quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul, in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus afflixit. Nam classis Othoniana, licenter vaga, dum Intemelios (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, juvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimae legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressae, praeposuit, ubi

decessor seditiose agere narrabatur; quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor simul et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

VIII. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat; saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem et ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando, extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios ascivit, ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae imprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat. Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa; ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et saepius misericors; ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona. Tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat; nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam

quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit; procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit; et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

x. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur; Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur. Septentrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongae scutulae vel bipenni assimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa; sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus jussum, et hiems appetebat. Sed *mare pigrum* et grave remigantibus; perhibent ne ven*tis quidem* perinde attolli; credo, quod rariores terrae

montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere hujus operis est, ac multi rettulere. Unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit; in universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus; in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detractandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt. XII. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur; honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur; nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus; ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.

[illegible] nebulis foedum; asperitas [illegible] spatia ultra nostri orbis men[illegible] extrema Britanniae parte brevis, [illegible] exiguo discrimine inter[illegible] officiant, aspici per noctem [illegible] exsurgere, sed transire [illegible] plana terrarum, humili [illegible] niraque caelum et sidera [illegible] oleam vitemque et cetera [illegible] patiens frugum, fecun[illegible] proveniunt, eademque utri[illegible] humor terrarum caelique. [illegible] argentum et alia metalla, [illegible] oceanus margarita, sed [illegible] artem abesse legentibus [illegible] ac spirantia saxis [illegible] expulsa sint colligi; ego [illegible] margaritis deesse quam [illegible]

[illegible] delectum ac tributa et injuncta [illegible] si injuriae absint; has [illegible] ut pareant, nondum ut servi[illegible] Romanorum divus Julius [illegible] ingressus, quamquam prospera [illegible] potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium

2. Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano; quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit. Domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius; redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae. Addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) ut, vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, aggressus terga occasioni patefecit. XV. Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere. Nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subjectis exitiosam; alterius manum, centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiorem esse, qui spoliet; nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse jugum, et flumine, non Oceano, defendi; sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii *unius* aut alterius eventu pavescerent; plus

impetus, majorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. Porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam audere.

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boadicea generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis. Nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus, cognito provinciae motu, propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera arroganter in deditos et, ut suae cujusque injuriae ultor, durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior; et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit justam segnitiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem; et seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum; nisi quod innocens Bolanus et *nullis delictis* invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, aggressus. Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset; *subiit* sustinuitque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media jam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas, haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia; et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum, ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum incohaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae, ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in dubiis consiliis naves deerant; ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota

vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola; quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola, prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est. Sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si injuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei; non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem, milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare; omnia scire, non omnia exsequi; parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare, nec poena semper sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta, ac ludere pretio cogebantur; devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates, proximis hibernis, in remota et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

XX. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam

famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere: loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetentare; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque, ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit.

XXI. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque bello faciles quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa fora domos exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes. Ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga, paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Annotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; *crebrae* eruptiones; nam adversus moras

obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum aestate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit; seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur; ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos injucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium ejus non timeres; honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

XXIII. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur, quod tum praesidiis firmabatur, atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

XXIV. Quinto expeditionum anno, nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit, eamque partem Britanniae, quae Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem; si quidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differt in melius; aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse, idque etiam

adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertás tolleretur.

XXV. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit. Quae ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, misti copiis et laetitia, sua quisque facta suos casus attollerent; ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte aggressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus irrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin

etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret. XXVII. Cujus conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus, nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant; atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute *se victos*, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatium sancirent; atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem aestate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immisti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad aquam atque utilia rapientes cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi, ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus illustravit.

XXIX. Initio aestatis Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit, quem jam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatium vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis juventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

XXX. "Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romana; ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant; quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; nunc terminus Britanniae patet. Atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluc-

tus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, jam et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi; quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant. XXXI. Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit; hi per delectus alibi servituri auferuntur: conjuges sororesque, etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur; Britannia servitutem suam cottidie emit, cottidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes, femina duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac, nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere; nos integri et indomiti et libertatem non in paenitentiam laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit. XXXII. An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus *sui vertunt;* quem contractum ex diversissimis gen-

tibus, ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent —nisi Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et affectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror est, infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt; nullae Romanos conjuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus; agnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem, deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra formidinis; vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et injuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus; ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et majores vestros et posteros cogitate."

XXXIII. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Jamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque procursu; simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola, quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit:

"Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis; tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes seu patientia ac labore paene

adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam: quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi; et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem; ita fugientibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia; sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse. XXXIV. Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer; nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis aggressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus; imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem;

approbate reipublicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi."

XXXV. Et alloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus affunderentur; legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen aequo, ceteri per acclive jugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius *et* eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus. Nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis qui in aequo astiterant erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes, aemulatione et impetu conisae, proximos quosque caedere; ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum

turmae fugere; covinnarii peditum se proelio miscuere, et, quanquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea jam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo astantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant. XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola, quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum; sequi, vulnerare, capere atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre; passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, identidem primos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et, sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. *Caesa hostium* ad decem milia; nostrorum trecenti

sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus.

XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus. Britanni palantes mistoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari; satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tamquam miserarentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit; vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum et exacta jam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur; at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli; frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; et cetera

utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret; nam etiamtum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et illustris statuae honorem et quicquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet, addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse: sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium immistus est. Ceterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo ut plerique quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola, quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querella laesi cujusquam, sed infensus *virtutibus* princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimico*rum genus,* laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicae

tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi; tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in approbanda excusatione offerre; postremo non jam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et cum annuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, proconsuli consulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit; sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris; Domitiani vero natura, praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen *prudentiaque* Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia

neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitae ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum; nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere; sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque prae se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore judicioque; tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule Idibus Juniis, excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris, Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus et impetus in vultu, gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis

ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit; quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae contigerant. Filia atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus; incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. Nam sicuti *non licuit* durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Trajanum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rempublicam exhausit. XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius tum reus erat. Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos jussitque scelera, non spectavit; praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque ejus, praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget maestitiam, quod assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit; excepissemus certe man-

data vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus; nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo; paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui. XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione te potius, quam temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, aemulatione decoremus. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur; non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quae marmore aut aere finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus, quicquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios, et ignobiles, oblivio obruit; Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

NOTES.

NOTES.

Argument.

CHAPS. 1-3. Reasons for writing the book. The better times under Nerva and Trajan. — 4. A.D. 40. Birth of Agricola. — 5, 6. His military experience and civil career. — 7, 8. A.D. 70. Placed in command of a legion. — 9. A.D. 74. Governor of Aquitania and of Britain. — 10-12. Description of Britain. — 13, 14. Its conquest. — 15, 16. — Insurrection of Boadicea. — 17. The government of Britain until the arrival of Agricola. — 18, 19. A.D. 78. War with the Ordovices. — 20, 21. A.D. 79. His peaceful administration. — 22. A.D. 80. Conquest to the Tanaus. — 23. A.D. 81. To the Clota and Bodotria. — 24. A.D. 82. Description of Ireland. — 25-27. A.D. 83. War with the Caledonians. — 28. Adventure of the Usipian cohort. — 29. A.D. 84. Renewal of the war. — 30-32. Speech of Calgacus. — 33, 34. Speech of Agricola. — 35-37. Battle of Mons Graupius. — 38, 39. Subjection of Britain. — 40. A.D. 85. Return of Agricola to Rome. — 41, 42. His treatment by Domitian. — 43. A.D. 93. His death. — 44. His character and demeanor. — 45. The character of the times. — 46. Conclusion.

NOTE. — In the grammatical references, *Gr.* stands for *Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar; G.*, for *Gildersleeve;* and *H.*, for *Harkness.*

CHAPTER I.

1. 2. **usitatum**: this participle qualifies the clause **clarorum . . . tradere,** where we might rather expect a relative clause. It is a common construction in Tacitus. — **ne nostris quidem**, etc., "even our generation, indifferent as it is."

3. **quamquam incuriosa**: this use of **quamquam** and some other conjunctions with adjectives or participles, that is, without any complete predicate, is common with Tacitus and the writers of his age. So in English, *although* [it is] *indifferent.* — **suorum,** *its great men;* objective genitive after **incuriosa,** *indifferent.*

9. **gratia,** *partiality* or *partisanship*, desire to gratify; **ambitione,** *self-seeking*, desire to get favor or reputation for themselves.

11 **fiduciam morum,** *confidence in their own character*, consciousness of rectitude; in apposition with **suam . . . narrare.**

12. **Rutilio**: P. Rutilius Rufus, a friend of Lælius and Scipio, a statesman, orator, and Stoic philosopher, a man of unblemished

integrity in an age of corruption. He was banished about B.C. 92 by an unjust verdict, because his strict administration of his province had brought upon him the enmity of the public contractors. He wrote (probably in his banishment at Smyrna) an autobiography; also (in Greek) a Roman history. — **Scauro.** M. Æmilius Scaurus, consul B.C. 115. He was the leader of the aristocracy during the period of reaction between the Gracchi and the civil war; a man of pride and some show of dignity, but venal. He wrote his own life. — **citra,** in writers of the silver age, used in the sense of *without.* — **obtrectationi,** dative of end or service. This union of different constructions to express the same relation, **citra fidem et obtrectationi,** is common in Tacitus.

13. **adeo,** used, as it frequently is, to qualify the whole sentence; *so true it is that,* etc.

14. **nunc,** in these bad times.

15. **opus fuit,** perfect, *I have been obliged to ask.* This first chapter is, as it were, an apology for his undertaking.

16. **incusaturus,** a protasis, *if I had been about to attack:* in this case, such was the depraved public sentiment, he would not have needed indulgence. — **infesta,** *vindictive.* — He now proceeds to give examples of the evil times.

CHAPTER II.

18. **legimus,** perfect: this does not refer to books, — Tacitus did not need to go to them for the events of his own time, — but to the **acta diurna,** an official bulletin published by authority of the emperor, and serving much as a morning paper to the citizens of the capital. — **Aruleno,** etc. Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio were men eminent for their abilities and virtues, who were put to death by Domitian, because they had eulogized these victims of former tyranny; Pætus Thrasea was put to death by Nero, Helvidius Priscus was banished by him, and afterwards suffered death under Vespasian. — **Aruleno** and **Herennio** are dative of agency, a very common construction in the silver age.

21. **saevitum** [**esse**], *vengeance was wreaked.* — **triumviris,** sc. **capitalibus** or **nocturnis**: an inferior grade of officers, invested with certain police powers, as assistants of the ædiles, as well as in certain classes of civil cases. They were the public executioners when the punishment was inflicted in the prison. Their being deputed to the work of burning the books was designed to increase the contumely, as the burning of books was regularly performed by the

ædiles, magistrates of high rank; so, in modern times, burning by the common hangman.

23. **in comitio ac foro.** The comitium was the upper part of the forum, towards the Capitoline mount: the words **in foro** are added to indicate the publicity of the act.

2. 1. **sapientiae,** *philosophy.* — **professoribus,** in the modern meaning of the word. The teachers of philosophy were banished about A.D. 94. — **omni bona arte**: this relates to the same act, — by the banishment of the professors, every high aspiration in art and science was driven into exile.

2. **occurreret,** used without an object, *should meet one:* almost in the modern sense, *occur.* Notice that **honestum** qualifies **quid** as an attribute, *anything that is honorable;* **quid . . . honesti** would mean, *any virtue* or *honor.*

5. **inquisitiones.** This refers to the trade of informer, or **delator,** which was at its height under Domitian. (See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire,* Vol. vii., p. 127; see also Vol. v., p. 130).

CHAPTER III.

8. **nunc demum**; *i.e.,* after the death of Domitian, who was assassinated in September, 96.

9. **saeculi,** a cycle of years, originally identified with the longest age of a man, which was reckoned to be 100 years (Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie,* p. 174). It is used here in a more general sense, *age,* and especially as the reign of a given prince. — **Nerva Caesar.** Nerva reigned from September, 96, to January, 98; the use of this expression shows that this work was composed in his reign; for if he had died, he would have been called "Divus Nerva." The same thing is shown by the use of the perfect tense, **miscuerit.**

10. **miscuerit.** Tacitus generally uses the subjunctive after **quamquam.** — **principatum,** the office of prince or emperor, *monarchy;* this mixture of royalty and liberty makes a constitutional monarchy.

12. **Nerva Trajanus.** Trajan was adopted by Nerva, and associated with him in the empire in September, 97, adding the name of Nerva to his own. This expression, therefore, taken in connection with *Nerva Caesar* above, shows that this work was written at some time between September 18, 97, and January 27, 98.

13. **fiduciam ac robur** may be regarded as a hendiadys; *firmly grounded confidence.*

16. **oppresseris** and **revocaveris**: the common use of the perfect subjunctive, second person singular, to express an indefinite subject; *one can*, etc.

17. **subit,** *creeps upon us.* — **quippe**: this particle is primarily asseverative, *in truth;* but being frequently used in causal clauses, it is used by late writers as equivalent to **quoniam.** In this place it comes nearer to its original meaning, but still with a slight causal force; *Nay, more than this*, etc.

19. **quindecim annos.** Domitian reigned from A.D. 81 to 96.

23. **juvenes,** *those of us who were young.* The age **juventus** extended to about 45. This expression appears to prove that Tacitus was at least 45 at the accession of Nerva, and that he must therefore have been born as early as A.D. 51.

26. **memoriam.** This refers to his *Histories*, which embraced the period from the death of Nero (A.D. 68) to that of Domitian (A.D. 96). — **testimonium** is an allusion to his intention of writing a history of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, — a plan which he appears never to have carried into execution.

CHAPTER IV.

32. **Forojuliensium** (the name of the people put, as is very common, for that of the town). Forum Julii (*Fréjus*) was a colony founded by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 44. It had an excellent harbor, for which reason Augustus sent there the ships captured at Actium, and made it a naval station to guard the coast. It was during the empire the chief naval station of this coast. — **colonia**: see note, Chap. XXXII. — **procuratorem.** The procurators (agent or "proctor") were the financial officers of the emperor, one of whom was stationed in each province. In the senatorial provinces, which were administered by a proconsul and quæstor, the procurator had charge only of the revenues which were especially destined to the *fiscus*, or privy purse of the emperor; in the imperial provinces, the procurator was the sole financial officer. In the lowest grade of imperial provinces, a procurator had the entire charge of the administration of the province. See note on **legatis consularibus**, Chap. VII.

33. **equestris nobilitas**: the office of procurator was confined to persons of equestrian rank, which is here contrasted with real or *senatorial nobility*; this term has also been explained as meaning

that this office conferred a certain distinction upon members of the equestrian order, somewhat akin to nobility proper, which, it will be remembered, belonged to persons any of whose ancestors had held curule office; equites, whose ancestors had held the procuratorship, enjoyed *equestrian nobility*.

34. **senatorii ordinis.** The senatorial and equestrian "orders" were not fixed categories of rank, but, as is shown in the case of Agricola himself, often indicated the stage of honor which the individual had attained.

3. 2. **Gaii Caesaris,** better known as Caligula, emperor after Tiberius, A.D. 37–41; a cruel, dissolute youth, no doubt insane. Seneca says of Græcinus: *quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret. De Benef.* ii. 21. Græcinus wrote a treatise *De Vineis*. Columella, I. 1, 14. — **M. Silanum.** M. Junius Silanus, whose daughter married Caligula, was hated by this tyrant, and commanded by him to kill himself.

4. **sinu indulgentiaque**: a kind of hendiadys, *in her tender protection*.

6. **arcebat**: the subject is the clause, **quod . . . compositum.**

7. **peccantium = peccatorum**: similar uses of the participle are common in Livy and Tacitus.

9. **Massiliam.** *Marseilles*, an ancient Greek town of high reputation for culture and character.

10. **mistum**: note the construction, where the English would say, *in which were mingled.*

13. **Romano ac senatori**: *i.e.*, in view of the dry and practical tastes of the Romans, and especially the merely political qualities needed by a senator. — **hausisse** represents here **hauriebat** of direct discourse; *He began to drink in*, etc. Gr. § 308. *b*; G. § 599. R. 2; H. § 510. II.

17. **caute,** for **cautius**: Gr. § 192. *b*. The most characteristic quality of Agricola was energy.

18. **ex sapientia**: *i.e.*, as a result of his philosophical studies. — **modum**: *i.e.*, of character.

CHAPTER V.

19. **castrorum,** *military science*, of which the rules of encampment (fortification) formed a principal part. — **Suetonio Paulino**: *see Chap. XIV.*; dative after **approbavit.**

20. **moderato**: his most prominent characteristic as a general was caution.

21. **contubernio**, ablative of means; **aestimaret**, subjunctive of purpose: *test him by having him as a tent-mate.*

23. **titulum tribunatus et inscitiam**, referring to the idleness and ignorance of those who received the rank of tribune merely as an empty title. This is the military tribuneship; six tribunes commanded each legion.

24. **noscere**, etc.: the historical infinitive, very common in Tacitus.

27. **exercitatior**: this was the time of the famous revolt of Boadicea, A.D. 60; see Chaps. XV. and XVI.

29. **coloniae.** There was but one regularly organized colony in Britain, Camulodunum (Colchester); but there were populous settlements of Roman citizens in London and other places.

30. **mox**: in late writers this usually has the meaning *afterwards.*

34. **temporibus**: best taken as ablative; these qualities were not unacceptable *to the age*, but to the ruling authorities (the emperor) *in the age.*

35. **erga eminentes**: contrasted with **interpretatio**, — an unfavorable interpretation was put upon every thing that they did.

CHAPTER VI.

4. 1. **ad capessendos magistratus**: it was necessary to pass through the several grades of magistracy in order to rise to high stations in the army. See notes below; also Chap. VII. — **capessere** is a technical expression in this use.

3. **decus ac robur**: not merely *honor*, but also positive *assistance* was derived from this marriage.

5. **nisi quod**, etc. There is an ellipsis here, suggested by **invicem**; "this mutual regard is equally a credit to both of them, *unless*, — good wives being so rare, — it should be considered *that*, etc."

7. **sors quaesturae.** The quæstorship stood first in the series of honors; forty were elected each year, who were then assigned by lot to service in the city and the several provinces. Their functions were financial; they attended to the finances of the state and its treasury, **aerarium**, while the procurators had charge of the finances of the emperor and his privy purse, **fiscus.** The quæstorship could, in the Empire, be held at the age of 25. —

Asiam. This province embraced the western part of Asia Minor; being an old and quiet province, it belonged to the class of senatorial provinces, and was therefore governed by a proconsul: see note, Chap. VII. — **Salvium Titianum,** brother of the emperor Otho, and, like him, a corrupt and greedy man.

8. **neutro,** neuter, relating to both circumstances, the richness of the province and the venality of the governor.

11. **facilitate:** *i.e.*, in making unlawful gains. — **redempturus esset,** *was ready to purchase.*

12. **subsidium:** by the Lex Papia Poppæa a certain precedence in taking honors was allowed to those who had children.

13. **sublatum:** the child soon after birth was laid at its father's feet, and he, by lifting it up, **tollere,** recognized it, and professed his intention to rear it. If he did not do this, the child was exposed in the forest and left to perish.

14. **tribunatum plebis.** This was the second stage of honors; either this or the ædileship was, in the Empire, required of all except patricians before they could hold the prætorship (Mommsen's *Römische Staatsrecht*, Vol. i., pp. 439, 456, 471).

16. **pro sapientia fuit,** *served for* or *was a mark of wisdom;* see end of last chapter.

17. **jurisdictio:** the administration of justice in civil cases belonged to only two out of the whole college of prætors (fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen in all at this time), the *urbanus* and *peregrinus;* the others gradually lost their criminal jurisdiction, as presiding in the *quaestiones perpetuae*, and, on the other hand, received the charge of the public games in place of the ædiles.

18. **medio,** *in a mean between.*

19. **duxit,** *he conducted.*

20. **Galba,** the successor of Nero, A.D. 68. — **ad dona . . . recognoscenda:** that is, those which had been lavished by Nero, or plundered by his favorites. Agricola got back all except those which had come into the hands of Nero himself.

CHAPTER VII.

23. **sequens annus:** A.D. 69. On the 15th of January Galba was murdered by the Prætorian Guard, and succeeded by Otho; Agricola, having been an officer of Galba, was exposed to the resentment of his successor.

25. **Intemelios.** Albium Intemelium was a free town, munici-

pium, upon the seacoast of Liguria, a few miles east of Nicæa, *Nice;* here the name of the inhabitants is put, as in the case of **Forojuliensium**, Chap. IV., for that of the town. Both manuscripts here read, **in templo**; the correction is easily made from Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 13: *Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albium Intemelium.* — **Liguriae.** Liguria was the ninth of the eleven regions into which Augustus divided Italy: it was bounded on the north by the Padus, *Po;* on the east by the Trebia and Macra.

27. **patrimonii**: the original meaning, of an inherited estate, appears to have been lost, and the word is used here especially to denote furniture and household property.

29. **Vespasiano.** Otho had been succeeded, after a short reign, by Vitellius, and he in turn by Vespasian, governor of Judæa. Vespasian's general, Licinius Mucianus, governor of Syria, led the advance against Vitellius, overthrew his power, and administered affairs in Rome for some time before Vespasian arrived in Italy from the East. All these events took place A.D. 69.

30. **in partes**, *to the party:* sc. **Vespasiani.**

31. **principatus**, *reign:* the republican Tacitus uses in preference the emperor's title as civil head of the state, **princeps**, rather than **imperator**, which implies the possession of military and autocratic power.

32. **Domitiano**, Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, afterwards infamous for his vices and tyranny as emperor, accompanied Mucianus to Italy as representative of his father.

34. **vicesimae legioni**: this legion, known as **Victrix**, was stationed in Britain.

5. 1. **decessor**: his name was Roscius Cælius. — **legatis consularibus.** The provinces which were so completely brought under the authority of the Empire as to need no armed force (eleven in all), were administered, as in the Republic, by proconsuls (see Asia, Chap. VI.). The rest of the provinces were placed under the immediate rule of the emperor as proconsul, who governed them through his **legati**, or, — in the case of nine of inferior importance,— by mere agents, **procuratores.** The rank of the **legati** depended upon the importance of the province; provinces like Aquitania (Chap. IX.), which required only a single legion, were assigned to the commander of the legion, who was (according to a custom established by Julius Cæsar) a **legatus praetorius** (*i.e.*, of prætorian rank); those which required more than one legion, like Britain, were given to **legati**

consulares (*i.e.*, of consular rank). There were twelve provinces of each grade. **Legatus consularis** means, therefore, *Governor* of an imperial province of the first rank; **legatus praetorius** may mean, as here, *commander of a legion*, or, as is the case of Agricola's office in Aquitania, *Governor* of an imperial province of the second rank.

2. **nimia,** *too powerful.* — **legatus praetorius,** Roscius Cælius.

3. **suo,** *sc.* **ingenio**: *i.e.*, by his own fault.

4. **successor et ultor,** predicate after **electus**; **successor** relates to the governor, **ultor** to the mutinous soldiers.

5. **videri**: *i.e.*, by working upon their feeling of honor.

CHAPTER VIII.

9. **incresceret,** *become too prominent:* the subject is Agricola.

10. **obsequi** and **miscere**: poetic construction after adjectives.

11. **consularem,** *sc.* **legatum,** *governor:* a common ellipsis.

12. **exemplorum,** objective genitive: *room to display themselves.*

14. **communicabat,** *sc.* **cum eo.**

15. **ex** [**eventu**], *after: i.e., in consequence of success.*

16. **gestis,** ablative of cause with **exsultavit.**

17. **auctorem,** the one under whose *authority* and by whose auspices he acted.

CHAPTER IX.

20. **revertentem** (not **reversum**), *on his way back.*

legatione, *sc.* **praetoria,** *command of the legion.* See note to **legatis consularibus,** Chap. VII.

21. **patricios.** The old patriciate had become almost extinct, as no additions had been made to it since the very earliest days of the Republic; the emperors therefore adopted the policy of bestowing this rank upon persons of high birth and distinction, in order to increase the splendor of their court, and in order that certain priesthoods, held only by patricians, might be filled. — **provinciae Aquitaniae.** See note on **legatis consularibus,** Chap. VII.

22. **dignitatis,** genitive of quality with **provinciae.**

25. **castrensis jurisdictio,** *military law*, exercised by a commander over his soldiers. — **secura,** *free from solicitude*, as not being subject to appeal, to the caprice or ignorance of juries, or to *the scrutiny of* opposing counsel; **obtusior,** *simple*: i.e., resting

upon blunt common sense, not upon acute legal analysis; **manu agens**, *off hand, summary*.

26. **fori**: the Roman courts of justice were upon the forum; hence our word "forensic."

27. **togatos = cives**: the toga being the garb of peace; as commander of a legion, his **jurisdictio** was **castrensis**; as governor of a province, it was **inter togatos**. The word cannot be confined here, as usual, to Roman citizens, but is used to contrast the civil with the military jurisdiction.

28. **jam vero**, *moreover*.

29. **divisa**: *i.e.*, from one another. — **conventus**, the judicial districts into which the provinces were divided; it was also used for the assemblies held in the districts for the purposes of jurisdiction. These were a kind of judicial circuit; by **judicia** is meant the regular administration of justice by the governor in the city of his residence. — **poscerent**, Gr. § 309. *b.*; G. § 569. Rem. at end; H. § 486. 5.

30. **et [saepius]**, *and at the same time*.

31. **persona**, (*mask*), *putting on* of the dignity of power.

32. **exuerat**, *had kept himself free from*.

6. 3. **collegas**, the governors of neighboring provinces; **procuratores**, the imperial agents in his own province: see note, Chap. IV. As the procurators were directly responsible, not to the governors, but to the emperor, quarrels appear to have been very common between them and the governors (Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 110).

6. **statim** in sense qualifies **ad spem**. — **consulatus**: the office of consul was now hardly more than a title, held usually for two months. Agricola held it with Domitian during the last six months of A.D. 77.

7. **in hoc**, *to this effect*.

9. **elegit**, perfect definite.

12. **pontificatus**: an ancient priesthood having, in the Republic, the general supervision of the religion of the state; it had now become a mere dignity, all its power being exercised by the emperor, who was *ex officio* its head, **pontifex maximus**.

Chaps. X.–XVIII. contain a digression upon the nature and previous history of the island preparatory to the account of Agricola's administration.

CHAPTER X.

13. **multis scriptoribus**: *e.g.*, Cæsar, Strabo, Pliny. It is in the dative.

14. **in comparationem**: *i.e.*, in order to surpass former writers in these respects.

16. **comperta = satis certa.** — **rerum,** *facts*, "*with historical accuracy*."

18. **spatio ac caelo,** *in extent and in latitude.*

19. **Hispaniae** (dative): Cæsar, *B. G.* v. 12, makes the same mistake.

20. **in meridiem,** like **in orientem,** etc., denotes the general direction: *to the south.* — **inspicitur,** *is visible:* **Gallis** is the so-called dative of the agent.

21. **nullis . . . terris,** ablative absolute; **contra,** adverbial.

22. **Livius**: *i.e.*, in his 105th book, as is known from the Epitome. — **veterum** and **recentium,** *sc.* **auctorum.** — **Fabius Rusticus** wrote a history of the emperors beginning with the reign of Claudius.

25. **citra,** *as far as.* Caledonia is that part of Scotland which ies north of the Forth and Clyde.

27. **extremo iam litore**: *i.e.*, when one seems to have already reached the end, where the island narrows at the friths of Forth and Clyde. — **velut in cuneum tenuatur**: *i.e.*, it first widens, then again narrows like a wedge.

28. **novissimi,** *most distant.* — **tunc primum**: *i.e.*, under Agricola's administration; see Chap. XXXVIII.

31. **dispecta,** *seen dimly.*

32. **hactenus,** *only so far:* these reasons are given for not visiting the land.

33. **pigrum**: this adjective, applied also in the *Germania* (Chap. 45) to the northern sea, is sometimes explained as *frozen.* That this is not the case in this passage is shown by the explanation which follows. Probably the explorers fancied — it is hard to guess why — that they found these northern waters more sluggish than those of the Mediterranean; they noticed, at any rate, that squalls were more sudden in the shallower seas.

34. **perinde,** *sc.* **atque alia maria.**

7. 4. **fluminum,** *currents.* — **huc atque illuc**: *i.e.*, on both coasts.

5. **litore tenus**, *only to the shore.* — **accrescere aut resorberi**, *flow or ebb.*

6. **inseri**, reflexive, *make their way.*

7. **in suo**, *in its own dominions.*

CHAPTER XI.

10. **ut inter barbaros**, *sc.* **fieri solet.**

11. **varii**: *i.e.*, in different parts of the island. — **argumenta** *i.e.*, as to their origin, that they were not of one nationality.

12. **rutilae comae**, etc.: not *red*, but *reddish yellow;* in the *Germania*, Chap. 4, Tacitus speaks of the **rutilae comae, magna corpora** of the Gérmans. This resemblance serves to support the theory that the Picts of Caledonia, or northern Scotland, were of Teutonic race.

13. **colorati**, *swarthy.*

14. **posita contra**: a common idiom of the participle; *the fact that Spain lies opposite* [which, however, it does not]; the Silurians were in South Wales. The features here described were characteristic of the Iberians of Spain.

16. **proximi Gallis**, etc.: Cæsar says the same, *B. G.* v. 12, *maritima pars ab iis [incolitur] qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierunt;* adding, Chap. 14, *neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine.*

Here we have three distinct nationalities, in the north, the west, and the south; of the first two we have the physical features carefully described; of the third, the statement of both Cæsar and Tacitus that they were of Belgian origin, — but the Belgians themselves were of doubtful nationality (Cæs., *B. G.* ii. 4). Cæsar does not tell us of any distinctions among the aborigines of Britain, such as Tacitus here indicates.

17. **in diversa**, *in opposite directions: i.e.*, towards one another.

19. **aestimanti**, *when one considers:* this use of the present participle in the dative (of reference), a common construction in Greek, is often used in Latin by Livy and the later authors.

20. **eorum**: *i.e.*, the Gauls.

21. **persuasiones**: the manuscripts read **persuasione**; but while identity of sacred rites, **sacra**, might prove identity of belief, **persuasiones**, the converse would not be the case. — **in deposcendis**, etc.: cf. Cæs., *B. G.* iii. 19, *ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.*

24. **emollierit**: Gr. § 320, *e*; G. § 636; H. § 519.

25. **nam Gallos quoque**: so Cæs., *B. G.* vi. 24, *ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent.*

28. **Galli**, an attribute, *when Gauls.*

CHAPTER XII.

28. **robur**, *principal strength.*

29. **honestior auriga**: just the opposite of the Greek custom, as illustrated in Homer.

31. **factionibus**, of the nobles; **studiis**, of the people. — **nec aliud**, etc.: a general proposition, not referring to the Britons alone.

33. **duabus tribusve**, *two or three*, not necessarily excluding even more; **tribusque** (the reading of one manuscript) would mean, *two, and occasionally three.*

35. **singuli**, *sc.* **populi**.

8. 1. **caelum**, etc.: a good description of the climate at the present day; Cæsar also says, *B G.* v. 12, *remissioribus frigoribus*, as compared with Gaul.

2. **nostri orbis**, *our part of the world.*

7. **transire**: *i.e.*, above the horizon; the midnight sun of more northern latitudes is referred by Tacitus' informants to northern Britain. — **scilicit extrema**, etc. Tacitus appears to have conceived the earth as a disc moderately rounded to its centre, like a shield; the sun passing along the very edge of this world cast no shadow except at some distance from the circumference. — **extrema et plana terrarum**: this kind of a partitive genitive is very common in the late writers.

14. **pretium victoriae**, *worth fighting for.*

16. **in rubro mari**, *the Persian Gulf.*

18. **ego facilius**, etc.: a good illustration of the keen, cynical humor characteristic of Tacitus.

CHAPTER XIII.

20. **ipsi Britanni**. After describing the island (Chap. X.), its inhabitants (Chap. XI.), and customs, climate, etc. (Chap. XII.), Tacitus proceeds to its history.

21. **obeunt**: a case of zeugma, as this verb applies only to **munera**, services; with **delectum**, may be supplied **patiuntur**; with **tributa**, **conferunt**. These three make up the amount of the obligations resting upon the provincials. For the nature of these

munera, see Chap. XXXI. — **imperii** is here to be understood not as *empire*, but *authority: i.e.*, of the emperor. — **absint**: subjunctive of a case supposed or conceived of, implying that it is not a usual occurrence.

23. **Igitur**, *now:* not an unusual meaning. — **divus Julius**, Julius Cæsar.

24. **Britanniam ingressus**, B.C. 55 and 54: see Cæsar's *Gallic War*, Books IV. and V.

25. **terruerit**: the late writers frequently use the subjunctive after **quamquam**.

26. **bella civilia**: *i.e.*, of Cæsar and Pompey, and those that followed.

27. **principum**, Cæsar and Pompey.

28. **Consilium**, . . . **praeceptum**, *a matter of policy . . . a rule of the empire. Augustus addiderat . . . consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam. Annals*, i. 11. See also Gibbon, Chap. 1: Augustus "bequeathed as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries." Notice that Tacitus gives the epithet **divus** only to the good emperors.

29. **Gaium Caesarem**, the crazy Caligula, the grandson of Augustus, and successor to Tiberius, A.D. 37–41.

30. **velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae**, *sc.* **fuisset**: **mobilis paenitentiae** is a genitive of quality. This change of construction is quite characteristic of Tacitus.

31. **ingentes . . . conatus.** So in the *Germania*, Chap. 37, *ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae.*

32. **Divus Claudius**, successor of Caligula, reigned A.D. 41–54: it was he that made Britain into a province. His expedition, in which he himself took part, remaining sixteen days upon the island, was A.D. 43.

33. **iterati operis**, by a common idiom, *the renewal of the work.*
— **legionibus auxiliisque**: a contrast constantly made; the legions were always composed of Roman citizens.

34. **assumpto**: *i.e.*, as commander of the second legion.

35. **fortunae**: this would seem to refer to all that follows, — the elevation of Vespasian as well as the conquest of Britain.

36. **fatis** may be considered either ablative, or dative of the *agent; some take it* as meaning "to the destinies."

CHAPTER XIV.

9. 1. **Aulus Plautius** was governor A D. 44–47; Ostorius Scapula, 47–51.—**in formam provinciae**: the appointment of a governor, **legatus consularis**, established the provincial organization, and this was made complete by the division of the territory into census districts and other financial arrangements.

4. **colonia**: this was Camulodunum, usually identified with Colchester in Essex.

8. **et reges.** The territories of tributary princes were regarded as practically forming an integral part of the empire. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., p. 340; also Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*, page 10 and following.—**haberet instrumenta**: note the peculiar order of thought; the logical subject is **populus Romanus**, and the principle of policy here indicated is given as if it were the purpose of this special act.—**Didius Gallus** was governor A.D. 51–57; Veranius, A.D. 58; Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 59 and 60.

10. **in ulteriora**: *i.e.*, beyond the organized province.—**aucti officii**: *i.e.*, doing more than his duty.

13. **biennio** = **per biennium.**

14. **Mona**, Anglesea.—**quorum fiducia**, *through confidence in which;* qualifies **aggressus.**

CHAPTER XV.

19. **ex facili** = **facile.**

20. **singulos**, *one at a time.*—**binos**: *i.e.*, the governor, **legatus consularis**, and fiscal agent, **procurator.**—**e quibus**: equivalent to the partitive genitive **quorum.**

23. **alterius manum**, etc.: the officers detailed to assist the governor in administration formed a kind of staff, **manus**; the fiscal agent acted through clerks and accountants, who were regularly slaves.

25. **In proelio**, contrasted with **nunc.**

28. **nescientibus**, agreeing with **sibi** understood, dative after **eripi**, etc.

29. **quantulum**, diminutive, *what a mere handful.*

30. **Germanias**: this refers to the successful uprising of Arminius and the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9, which was, however, confined to Lower Germany.—**flumine**: *i.e.*, nothing but a river, the Rhine.

32. ***illis,*** *the* Romans.

10. 1. **jam**: *i.e.*, things had come to such a pass.

4. **quod difficillimum fuerit**: *i.e.*, they have taken the first and most difficult step.

5. **deprehendi**: connected logically with **consiliis**, — when one has once begun to entertain such schemes, etc.

CHAPTER XVI.

7. **Boadicea**: the manuscripts vary as to the spelling of this name. The form here given is that familiar in literature; so with **Thule**, Chap. X., where the manuscripts read **Thyle**.

15. **tenentibus**, concessive, *although*, etc.; that is, he suppressed open rebellion although most still maintained a threatening attitude.

16. **propius** qualifies **agitabat**, with special emphasis upon **timor**.

18. **ut suae cujusque**, etc.: *i.e.*, *punishing each wrong to the state as if done to himself;* **ut**, *as*, qualifies **suae**.

19. **Petronius Turpilianus** was governor A.D. 62–64.

20. **novus**: *i.e.*, *inexperienced.*

21. **prioribus** is neuter.

22. **Trebellio Maximo**: he governed Britain A.D. 64–69.

24. **curandi** is used absolutely, *attending to matters*.

26. **civilium armorum**: following the death of Nero, A.D. 68.

27. **discordia**: *i.e.*, with Roscius Cælius, commander of the twentieth legion; see Chap. VII.

30. **precario**: *i.e.*, only by the sufferance of the soldiers. — **pacti**, *sc.* **sunt**, agrees with **exercitus** and **dux**; **velut**, *as it were*.

31. **Vettius Bolanus**: A.D. 70.

34. **nisi quod**: *i.e.*, the only difference was that, etc.; see Chap. VI., line 5.

CHAPTER XVII.

11. 4. **Petilius Cerialis**, governor A.D. 71–75. — **Brigantum**: the Brigantes occupied the whole north of England, and were thus at this time outside of the Roman province.

9. **subiit**: this word does not stand in the manuscripts, but something like this is necessary for the sense. — **Julius Frontinus**, one of the most distinguished men of the day, author of a work *de Aquaeductibus* and *de Strategematis*. — **quantum licebat** qualifies

sustinuit; Frontinus was **vir magnus** without any qualification; nor were the times of Vespasian (notwithstanding his parsimony), *infesta virtutibus*, like those of Nero and Domitian.

10. **Silurum**: the Silures inhabited South Wales.

CHAPTER XVIII.

14. **aestate**: A.D. 78.

15. **omissa**: *i.e.*, for this year.

16. **verterentur**: note the tense, — they were making up their minds to idleness. — **Ordovicum**: they inhabited North Wales.

17. **alam**: a division of auxiliary cavalry, divided into **turmae**, *squadrons*.

18. **agentem**, *stationed*. — **erecta provincia**: the insurrection, beginning among the free Britons, spread to the province.

19. **quibus** relates to **ii** understood, subject of the historical infinitive **probare**; it is in the possessive dative, and has **volentibus** agreeing with it, in the sense of *in accordance with whose will*; = **qui bellum volebant**.

20. **animum**, *temper*.

22. **numeri**: a common term for detached bodies of troops; supply **erat** with **transvecta**, etc.

23. **tarda et contraria**: in apposition with the preceding clauses. — **incohaturo**: used generally, — *one who intends to begin*.

25. **vexillis**. The regular standard of the Roman legions was called **signum**, — a metal figure, **insigne** (a disc, hand, eagle, etc.), at the top of a staff; the legion, the cohort, and the maniple, each had its *signum*. The **vexillum** was a small square of cloth, attached to a cross-bar at the top of a staff (often connected with the *signum*). It was used for various special purposes; it was the standard of the cavalry, and probably of the auxiliaries (see Chap. XXXV.); and a red **vexillum**, placed upon the general's tent, was the signal for advancing into battle When a company of soldiers was detached on special service, its *signa* were left with the legion, and it took with it a *vexillum* instead; hence such detached bodies of troops are often, as here, called *vexilla*; it refers to *numeri*.

26. **quia**, etc.: this causal clause, as is often the case, refers to the statement which follows.

28. **erexit**, *led up*, *i.e.*, the mountain.

29. **instandum**, *sc.* **esse**.

30. **cessissent** represents **cesserint** (fut. perf. ind.) of direct

discourse; it is a past tense, as depending upon **intendit.** — **ceteris,** masculine: the rest of the insurgents.

33. **dubiis**: not that his plans were wavering, or uncertain, but the war was unexpected.

35. **auxiliarium**: these were no doubt Batavians, who lived in a land of rivers and marshes; by **vada** is meant not these particular shallows, but waters of this kind.

12. 3. **qui classem,** etc.: that is, they looked for an attack by sea, and were unprepared for an approach from the mainland. In the repetition of **qui** we have the figure called anaphora.

4. **crediderint**: Gr. § 287. *c;* G. § 513; H. § 482. 2. — **venientibus**: dative after **arduum.**

7. **officiorum ambitum**: *eager seeking after the pageantry of office,* — a common meaning of **officia.**

9. **expeditionem aut victoriam**: predicate after **esse** understood, in apposition with **victos continuisse.**

11. **laureatis,** *sc.* **litteris**: letters announcing victory were often wreathed with laurel.

12. **aestimantibus,** see **aestimanti,** Chap. XII.

CHAPTER XIX.

16. **injuriae**: the manuscripts read **incuriae,** but the whole chapter describes his measures to prevent **injuriae,** wrongs done to the provincials.

17. **domum**: *i.e.*, his staff, assistants, etc.

19. **publicae rei** limits **nihil.**

21. **ascire** (for the manuscript reading **nescire**), *sc.* **in numerum accensorum,** *detail* for special duty at headquarters, — then, as now, regarded as a privilege; they were called *beneficiarii.*

23. **exsequi = ulcisci,** *punish.*

25. **officiis et administrationibus**: this appears to refer to a higher grade of duties, — the command of forts, detached posts, etc.

28. **circumcisis,** *sc.* **iis**: neuter.

29. **Namque,** etc. The rest of the chapter presents considerable difficulty, but is to be taken as explaining the abuses which were *tributo graviora.* These were two in number; the obligation of the provincials, it will be remembered, was to furnish corn. First, when the Romans had already an abundant supply, while the *provincials would* have preferred to pay money, they refused to *receive money,* so that the Britons *were forced in mockery to wait*

outside the closed (because full) *granaries* (of the Romans), *and buy corn needlessly, and thus make a fancy price* (**ludere pretio**). Secondly, as they had the power to direct the corn to be delivered wherever they pleased, they would select for this purpose distant and inaccessible places.

34. **in promptu**: *i.e.*, under fair conditions.

CHAPTER XX.

13. 1. **intolerantia**, *intolerable haughtiness*.

3. **aetas**: A.D. 79. — **multus in agmine**: this refers to his all-pervading personality; it may be rendered *ever present* etc.

4. **modestiam**, *good discipline*; **disjectos**, *stragglers*.

5. **praetentare**: *i.e.*, in order to find a passage.

6. **quominus**, etc.: the idea of hindrance is contained in **quietum pati**; leaving them in quiet would prevent him from making incursions.

9. **ex aequo**: *i.e.*, *independent*.

12. **transierit**: *i.e.*, no newly-acquired territory had before this time been annexed with so little molestation. The word **pariter** is not found in the manuscripts.

CHAPTER XXI.

14. **bello**: the manuscripts read **in bello**, which has no meaning.

16. **publice = ex aerario.** — **ut templa**, etc.: wherever the Romans set their foot, they left memorials of their rule in the form of noble public buildings.

18. **Jam vero**, *moreover*.

19. **ingenio**, etc.: *i.e.*, that the Britons could accomplish more by natural genius than the Gauls by diligence.

22. **toga**: the toga was the distinctive dress of a Roman citizen; it was like the adoption of dress coats and silk hats by the Japanese.

25. **humanitas**, *civilization*.

CHAPTER XXII.

The events of this chapter were A.D. 80.

28. **Tanaum**: this is the manuscript reading, for which most editions read **Taum**, *Tay*. But Agricola did not reach the Tay, as is shown by the next chapter. It was probably the Tyne, just north of Dunbar, the only estuary of any size on the Scottish coast south of the Forth.

29. **quamquam** belongs with **conflictatum**: see note on **quamquam incuriosa,** Chap. I.

35. **eruptiones**: *i.e.*, from the fortresses.

14. 1. **annuis copiis,** *supplies for a year.*

2. **quisque**: *i.e.*, commander of a post. — **irritis,** *baffled.*

4. **pensare,** *balance.*

6. **intercepit**: *i.e.*, take the credit of. — **centurio,** a legionary officer; **praefectus,** a commander of auxiliaries or cavalry.

10. **secretum,** *hidden grudge.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

12. **Quarta aestas**: A.D. 81.

14. **terminus,** *sc.* **imperii.**

15. **Clota et Bodotria,** *Clyde and Forth*: as these are given as the limit of what Agricola *percucurrerat*, it is clear that he did not reach the Tay, which lies further north.

18. **sinus**: not *bay*, but winding shore enclosing the bay. So in *Germania*, Chap. 1; **propior sinus,** the southern shore of the friths.

CHAPTER XXIV.

20. **nave prima**: *i.e.*, as soon as navigation opened, A.D. 82. — **transgressus**: *i.e.*, from the southern shore of the Clota.

22. **eam partem**: this would seem to be the long peninsula of Cantire, the part of Britain which approaches nearest to Ireland.

23. **in spem**: *i.e.*, of future conquest.

26. **valentissimam imperii partem**: the three countries of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, which formed the præfecture of the *Galliae* in the organization of Constantine. It was really the most vigorous part of the empire. According to Tacitus's geographical notions (see Chap. X.), Ireland formed a connecting link, **miscuerit,** between these.

28. **nostri maris**: the Mediterranean.

29. **haud multum differt in melius**: *differs not much, but is on the whole better.* The verb is in the singular as relating to the several subjects taken as a whole.

33. **in occasionem**: he never appears, however, to have found the opportunity.

34. **ex eo**: *i.e.*, Agricola.

CHAPTER XXV.

15. 3. **Ceterum,** etc.: the operations of this year, A.D. 83, were in the lowlands upon the eastern coast, north of the Forth.

5. **hostilis exercitus**: *i.e.*, of the Romans; their marches were made **infesta** by the attacks of the enemy.

10. **misti copiis et laetitia,** *sharing rations and joining in merriment.*

12. **profunda,** *recesses;* **adversa,** *dangers.*

13. **hinc . . . hinc**: by the land and the naval forces respectively; **victis** belongs with both.

15. **tamquam** in late writers often has the meaning, *on the ground that.*

22. **specie prudentium,** *under the show of prudence.* The Latin often uses an adjective where the English would prefer an abstract noun.

CHAPTER XXVI.

31. **vestigiis**: ablative. This is a kind of adverbial ablative, used in military operations.

32. **ab universis**: the **velocissimi** had gone in advance, and now the legions, following up, raised a united shout, **universi**, and at the same time the gleaming of their standards was seen.

16. 1. **erupere**: *i.e.*, the soldiers of the ninth legion.

2. **utroque exercitu**: *i.e.*, those in the camp, and those that brought aid.

CHAPTER XXVII.

8. **fremebant**: plural, with the collective noun **exercitus. — illi** relates to **ignavi specie prudentium,** Chap. XXV.

11. **uni**: *i.e.*, the commander.

16. **sancirent,** *make firm, establish.* This is the primitive meaning of the word: that of holiness, *sanctus*, is a secondary meaning.

17. **discessum**: *i.e.*, the opposing armies. The campaign was at an end.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

18. **Usipiorum**: this nation, called by Cæsar *Usipetes*, is placed by Tacitus (*Germania*, 32) on the right bank of the Rhine, in the *neighborhood* of Cologne. The body here mentioned probably

belonged to those troops that were posted on the west coast, opposite Ireland (Chap. XXIV.).

21. **manipulis**: three maniples, of two hundred men each, made a cohort; ten cohorts, a legion.

22. **liburnicas**: swift galleys, called from the country Liburnia, where they were first used by the pirates who infested that coast.

23. **remigante**: *i.e.*, directing the oarsmen.

25. **ut miraculum praevehebantur**: they sailed around the north of Scotland, exciting amazement as they passed. — **Mox ad aquam**, etc. This is Kritz's reading, and perhaps the best emendation of a very corrupt passage. The manuscripts read *ad aqua atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque.* — **ad aquam**, *sc.* **egressi**: by **utilia** we should understand food and other necessaries.

28. **eo inopiae,** *to that degree* (thither) *of want.*

31. **primum a Suevis,** etc.: *i.e.*, part by one and part by the others. The Frisians occupied the northern part of what is now the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the adjoining coast of Germany. The Suevi lived for the most part in southern and central Germany; but they may have come to the sea on predatory expeditions by the Rhine and other rivers.

32. **fuere quos**: we should expect the subjunctive after a relative with indefinite antecedent; but this phrase seems to have acquired somewhat the force of an indefinite = **quosdam**: *cf.* Horace, *Odes*, i. 1, 3, *sunt quos . . . juvat.*

33. **in nostram ripam**: *i.e.*, the left bank of the Rhine, which was in possession of the Romans. — **mutatione ementium**: *i.e.*, by passing from hand to hand.

34. **casus,** *adventure.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

17. 3. **ambitiose,** *with ostentatious self-control.*

8. **ad montem Graupium**: this passage has a curious story. The manuscript reading is that given here; but the earliest editions, by an error of the editor, read *Grampium*, and the Scotch antiquaries naturally busied themselves to find some hill with a modern name which might have been derived from this. There was none; therefore searching for some locality where the battle might naturally have been fought, they pitched upon the great mountain range north of Perth, and gave it the name *Grampian Mount*, which it has continued to bear to the present day. See Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol I., p. 16. The name, however, is no older than the

fifteenth century. As to the locality, it is plain from the expression **praemissa classe**, etc., that the scene of the battle was near the sea-shore. At any rate, it is far from likely that Agricola reached a point so far north as the Grampian Hills; and moreover the battle would not receive its name from a great range of mountains, but from some moderate hill which the enemy had invested, — **quem hostis jam insederat.**

10. **pugnae prioris**: *i.e.*, of the former year; Chap. XXVI.

15. **cruda ac viridis senectus**: this phrase is taken from Vergil, *Æn.* vi. 304.

16. **decora**, *badges of honor*.

CHAPTER XXX.

21. **animus**, *confidence*.

23. **nullae ultra terrae**: *i.e.*, for refuge.

28. **in nostris manibus**: contrasted with those Britons by whom in the previous battles **certatum est.**

29. **eoque**: this is the manuscript reading, which has been altered into **iique**, on the ground that their nobility was no reason for their occupying the *penetralia* of Britain. But if we consider **nobilissimi** to be used in its primitive sense, as relating to birth, we shall see that the *purest born*, the *autochthons*, would naturally be **in ipsis penetralibus siti.**

30. **servientium**: *i.e.*, the Gauls, who were subject to Rome.

32. **terrarum ac libertatis extremos**: one of Tacitus' nervous expressions, — *the remotest on the earth, and the last refuge of freedom*. For the nationality of the Caledonians, see note on Chap. XI.

33. **sinus famae**: this figure is taken from the *sinus* or pouch made by a fold in the toga, and is best explained as meaning the *obscurity of their fame*; **recessus ac sinus** may be regarded as a kind of hendiadys, — the obscurity of fame resulting from distance.

34. **Atque omne ignotum**, etc.: as long as we were unknown, we were dreaded. But now that we are reached, this dread can no longer exist, for there is no other nation beyond us, which can take our place.

18. 3. **defuere terrae**: they have no more lands to conquer.

8. **imperium** is to be joined with **appellant**; this sentence is a powerful example of Tacitus' sententious eloquence, as indeed is the *whole speech of* Calgacus.

CHAPTER XXXI.

12. **amicorum atque hospitum**: that is, in peace, in the organized province.

13. **Bona fortunaeque**: the manuscript reading is quite unintelligible; **bona fortunae quae in tributum aggerat annus in frumentum . . . conterunt.** The emended reading here given appears to be the best. **Annus** is used for the yearly produce; see *Germania*, Chap. 14.

15. **emuniendis**, *constructing roads through*. The Roman military roads were constructed with such solidity that they were like a fortification, and the word regularly used for making roads was **munire viam.**

16. **mancipia**: this word, meaning originally a formal method of purchase, and then applied to the objects conveyed by this formality, was in later times used especially for slaves. — **semel**, *only once*.

17. **ultro**, *over and above*, *in addition*.

18. **familia**: *i.e.*, of slaves; a common use of the word.

21. **nobis**: *i.e.*, as compared with the rest of the Britons, — they are subdued for purposes of gain, we for destruction.

26. **Brigantes**: see Chap. XVI. Boadicea was queen of the Trinobantes; Calgacus, however, mentions the Brigantes of Northern Britain, probably as being better known to the Caledonians.

29. **libertatem**: the manuscripts have **in libertatem.** By this expression he means that the Caledonians will not sink into supineness, **socordia**, as the Britons had done; **paenitentiam** means "change of purpose."

CHAPTER XXXII.

19. 2. **pudet dictu**: a very rare construction.

4. **hostes**: in apposition with **Gallos** etc.

10. **alia**: *i.e.*, some other than Rome. The Romans had large numbers of barbarians as auxiliaries in their armies.

11. **ignota omnia**: in apposition with **caelum** etc.

15. **nostras manus**: *i.e.*, they will desert to us.

17. **tamquam** = **quemadmodum** (**tam quam**, *so as*).

18. **ultra**: *i.e.*, if we gain this victory.

19. **senum**: predicate, — *the colonies are composed of old men. The only genuine* colony in Britain was Camulodunum (Colchester); *Londinium* and Verulamium (St. Albans) were *municipia*.

These two classes of towns differed in their origin: colonies were founded by Rome, *municipia* were native towns invested with Roman citizenship. There was at this period no practical difference between them, but the colonies stood higher in rank.

21. **Hic dux**, etc.: the contrast (**hic** and **ibi**) is between the Caledonians and the enemy, — the leader and army whom they could trust, and the oppression and exactions which they must endure if they should lose. — **metalla**: labor in the mines was a common form of servitude.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

26. **moris**, *sc.* **est**: a genitive of possession.

27. **cantu**, the war-shout of all barbarous nations.

29. **acies**, *sc.* **Britannorum**: the Romans were still in their entrenchments; see Chap. XXXV.

31. **adhuc** = **insuper**.

32. **Octavus annus**: it was really the seventh year, as Agricola came in 78. He reckoned probably from his consulship (*Freund*).

33. **auspiciis imperii**: the auspices, without which no important enterprise was undertaken, were, in the Republic, taken by the magistrate, and were his auspices; they were now the auspices of the empire or the emperor.

20. 1. **rerum naturam**, *Nature*.

2. **egressi**: agrees with **ego** and **vos**.

12. **in frontem**, *as long as we are advancing*. — **fugientibus**, *if we should retreat*.

14. **Neque enim**, etc.: that is, in case of their retreat, — the comparison is with the pursuing Caledonians.

16. **mihi decretum est**, *my mind has been made up*.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

21. **novae gentes**: *i.e.*, the enemy.

24. **proximo anno**: see Chap. XXVI.

27. **penetrantibus**, *sc.* **nobis**. The early editors understood this to be general, — *those who penetrate*, — and therefore changed **pellebantur** into **pelluntur**. It is better understood to refer to the northward march just accomplished.

32. **novissimae res**, etc.: the straits they are in, and their bodies in the extremity of fear.

34. **Transigite**, *have done*.

35. **quinquaginta annis**: this was really the forty-second year since Claudius began the conquest of Britain; see Chap. XIII.

CHAPTER XXXV.

21. 5. **discursum.** Notice the distributive force of the prefix: they were gathered to listen to his address, and then ran apart.

6. **peditum**: a partitive genitive, — *the auxiliary infantry.*

7. **firmarent**: formed a firm body, *composed.*

9. **citra Romanum sanguinem**: *i.e.*, if Roman blood should not be shed. The brunt of the battle was thrown on the auxiliaries, and the legions, which were composed of Roman troops, were held in reserve. — **bellandi**, as well as **victoriae**, limits **decus.**

10. **pellerentur**, *sc.* **auxilia.**

12. **aequo**, *on the level ground.*

13. **media campi**: *i.e.*, between the front lines of the two armies. — **covinnarius**: these were the war-chariots. described by Cæsar (*B. G.* iv. 24, 33) as **essedarii.** The word **et** is not found in the manuscripts, but seems necessary, as Cæsar constantly distinguishes the war-chariots from the cavalry of the Britons (see *B. G.* v. 15).

17. **porrectior**, *too extended.* — **futura erat**, *would be*: *i.e.*, as a result of this action.

19. **ante vexilla**: see note to Chap. XVIII. Agricola stood on foot in front of the standards.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

22. **gladiis** and **cetris**, ablative of instrument: explained by some as ablative of characteristic (*being armed with*, etc.).

25. **Batavorum**, etc.: these tribes lived in the Roman province of Lower Germany, — the Batavians at the mouth of the Rhine, the Tungri in Belgium (Tongern). — **duas**, *sc.* **cohortes.**

27. **quod**: *i.e.*, this style of fighting.

30. **in arto**: the manuscripts read **in aperto**; but a fight in open ground was just what the claymores of the Caledonians were fit for.

32. **qui in aequo astiterant**: **qui** relates to **iis** understood, used absolutely with **stratis**; these were the **primum agmen** (Chap. XXXV.).

33. **ceterae cohortes**: *i.e.*, of the auxiliaries. Tacitus regularly uses this term for auxiliary troops in contrast with the Roman legionaries.

35. **equitum turmae**: **turma** is the term regularly used for a division of Roman cavalry. It is used also, however, as a general term for the cavalry of other nations, and is to be understood here of the Caledonians. Agricola's cavalry, consisting of auxiliaries, is spoken of in the next chapter as **alae**, the regular expression for auxiliary cavalry.

22. 2. **recentem terrorem**, etc.: the war-chariots at first caused some confusion among the assaulting party (the Romans), but soon became useless on the hilly ground, and mixed in with the thick ranks of their own countrymen; **hostium** must, from Tacitus' point of view, be the Caledonians.

4. **minime equestris**: the ground not being suited to horses, this battle of the war-chariots, which would properly be ranked with cavalry engagements, became **minime equestris**. The same expression, **minime equestris more pugnae**, is used by Livy (xxii. 47) with reference to the battle of Cannæ, where, as here, the horse became useless from the closeness of the action and the nature of the ground.

5. **aegre clivo astantes**: the manuscripts read **egra diu aut stante**; manifestly corrupt. Kritz reads **clivo instantes**; Halm and Draeger, **adstantes**. It will be noted that in the round hand of the manuscripts **cliv** could be easily mistaken for **diu**. This appears to refer to the Caledonians; while the following indicative clause, **ac saepe ... incursabant**, describes both parties. In this difficult passage, Kritz (following Wex) reads **aequa nostris** for **equestres** of the manuscripts, and **instantes** for **aut stante**, making the confusion refer to the Romans. It is evident, however, from the following chapter, **circumire terga vincentium**, that the Romans were successful so far, and were making their way triumphantly up the hill. The events of the battle had been as follows: first, the skirmishing **eminus**; next, the assault made by the Batavians and Tungrians; third, the joining of the war-chariots in the battle, after the cavalry had been routed (**Interim . . . haerebant**). Then follows a description of the mixed nature of the battle (**minimeque . . . impellerentur**), and the confusion caused by the frightened horses (**ac saepe ... incursabant**).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

9. **qui adhuc**: this clause is restrictive, — *those Britons who, etc.*

10. **vacui**, *sc.* **cura**.

13. **equitum alas**: the auxiliary cavalry were always divided into **alae**: these stood, as has been seen, in Agricola's front line.

16. **a fronte**, etc.: *i.e.*, the **alae equitum** having repulsed the Britons who were taking the Romans in the rear, were now transferred from the direct front, and came round by a circuit upon the backs of the enemy, **aversam aciem invasere**; in this way the strategy of the Britons was turned against themselves, **consilium in ipsos versum**.

19. **oblatis aliis**: after taking prisoners, **capere**, they fell in with others of the enemy, and, not being able to keep both in security, slaughtered the first.

21. **armatorum** is contrasted with **inermes**, **catervae** to **paucioribus**.

26. **gnari**: the manuscripts have **ignari**, which must be corrected either to **gnari** or **ignaros**; **gnari** seems better, as being joined with **collecti**. — **frequens ubique**, *everywhere present*.

27. **validas**, etc.: fresh cohorts, probably of auxiliaries. — **indaginis modo**: the method of hunting by surrounding the woods with dogs, nets, &c.; a figure frequently used by the historians.

28. **artiora**, *sc.* **loca**: it is contrasted with **rariores silvas**, through which he sent the mounted cavalry. — **dimissis equis**, ablative absolute, or of quality (*dismounted*).

29. **persultare**: there is a kind of zeugma here. The word strictly applies only to the cavalry.

31. **compositos**, etc.: this refers to the fresh cohorts. As they marched up in good order the enemy fled, so that it was no longer necessary to carry out the orders just given.

33. **invicem**, *one another*.

23. 1. **praefectus cohortis**: *i.e.*, of auxiliaries. The legionary cohort was commanded by a **centurio primipilus**, — as we should call it, the senior centurion of the three maniples which composed the cohort.

2. **ferocia**, *unmanageableness*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

8. **pignorum**, *pledges* of affection, — wives and children.

10. **saevisse in** = **occidisse**. — **tamquam misererentur**: **tamquam** appears to be used here as in Chap. XVI., **tamquam exo-**

rabilior, to express a real reason, — *on the ground that.* Some take it in its original sense, *as if*, and interpret their pity as a pretence.

12. **secreti,** *deserted.*

16. **spargi,** *protracted.*

20. **lento itinere,** *after a slow march.*

23. **unde** qualifies **lecto.** The situation of this port is uncertain, but it was probably on the Frith of Forth, the point from which they had started. The fleet appears to have coasted the whole eastern shore, and then returned. This is the voyage of discovery referred to in Chap. X.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

26. **ut Domitiano,** etc.: compare **ut barbaris moris,** Chap. XXXIII.

28. **falsum triumphum**: Suetonius, a nearly contemporary writer, says (*Dom.* 7) that he fought a few battles, *varia proelia*; Cassius Dio, more than a century later, that he did not even see the enemy. No doubt it was a trifling campaign; nevertheless, it must have been a real one. We must remember that Tacitus was embittered against Domitian by his tyranny, and in especial by his subsequent treatment of his father-in-law. See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. vii., p. 82. This barren expedition of the emperor was in the same year (A.D. 84) as Agricola's brilliant victory.

34. **studia fori,** etc.: see Chap. II. As usual, **forum** refers to the bar, while by **civiles artes** is meant the practice of politics, especially in the senate.

24. 1. **imperatoriam virtutem,** *the proper excellence of an emperor.* He remembered, no doubt, that his own father, Vespasian, had been a mere governor of a province, and had been made emperor by his soldiers after exploits noways so brilliant as those of Agricola.

5. **Nam etiamtum,** etc.: he must at any rate remove him from his governorship and thus make him impotent.

CHAPTER XL.

7. **triumphalia ornamenta**: **ornamenta** are the distinguishing insignia of some office or dignity, granted by the senate, as a *special privilege* to be borne upon state occasions by persons who

have not held the office or dignity itself. As, under the empire, the honor of a triumph was restricted to the emperor, private citizens could only have the **ornamenta triumphalia**; and of these the most important — the laurel crown, the sceptre, the gilded throne — were confined to the emperor. The **ornamenta** granted to Agricola could, therefore, have been hardly more than the **toga praetexta.** (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i., p. 378.)

12. **majoribus**: Syria was an imperial province of the first rank, governed by a *legatus consularis*, in this ranking with Britain and a number of others; but it ranked as the most important province in a military point of view, being on the frontier opposed to the great rival empire of Parthia. — **Credidere plerique**, *it was generally believed.* — **libertum**: freed slaves still continued in the service of their former masters, and in close personal relation to them, like that of client to patron. Emperors of the type of Nero and Domitian made use of their freedmen, cunning and unscrupulous fellows, as agents in all confidential affairs; and some of these freedmen rose to great wealth and influence.

16. **freto Oceani**: the English Channel.

18. **ex ingenio principis**, *to suit the character of the prince*; construed with **fictum**, etc.

20. **celebritate**: this word does not seem to be used in its primitive sense, which is nearly synonymous with **frequentia**, but in the less common, although perfectly classical meaning of *distinction.*

24. **palatium**: this word is in its origin only another form of **Palatinus**, the hill of Rome upon which the earliest city was built. This hill was selected by Augustus for his residence; and his successors built splendid houses upon it. The name then was gradually transferred from the hill to the edifice, in which sense it has passed into the modern languages as *palace.* The name **Palatium** is derived from that of *Pales*, goddess of herds and flocks, upon whose festival, the *Palilia* (April 21), common tradition placed the founding of Rome. (Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p 364.)

25. **grave inter otiosos**, *a source of apprehension in time of peace.*

30. **quaererent famam**, *asked what made him so famous.* — **interpretarentur** does not refer to answers to the questions, but to other strangers, — most asked, few understood without asking; the *object* is **eum** understood.

CHAPTER XLI.

35. **laudantes**, not **laudatores**, which would mean a person who made this a practice; the participle is strictly temporary, — *those who praise one*. This praise is sometimes understood as ironical, of secret enemies; it is better to understand it of the inopportune, although sincere, praise of injudicious friends; see **optimus quisque libertorum** below.

25. 5. **limite**: this word properly means a path left as a boundary between two estates; from this there is a natural transition to a boundary *line*. Under the empire it is used for a fortified frontier. — **ripa**: no doubt from what goes before, the banks of both Rhine and Danube were meant; the special reference is, however, to the Danube, where the Goths invaded the Roman provinces.

6. **possessione**, *sc.* **provinciarum**. — **damnis**, dative.

7. **omnis annus**, *the whole year*.

12. **optimus quisque**: these were the **laudantes** referred to above.

14. **deterioribus**, neuter.

16. **praeceps agebatur**: *i.e.*, to a glory which was his ruin.

CHAPTER XLII.

17. **proconsulatum Asiae et Africae.** In his previous commands, Aquitania and Britannia, Agricola had acted simply as *legatus* or deputy of the emperor, in administering provinces of which the emperor himself was in theory governor; it was now his time to become himself the governor, *proconsul*, of a senatorial province (see note, Chap. VII.). This office, in which the governor had, in theory, independent power, was superior in dignity to that of the imperial provinces, in which the governor was only a deputy; but it was inferior in effective power, because he exercised only civil authority. It was bestowed, as in the republic, on men who had held magistracies; Asia and Africa alone to those who had been consuls; the other nine to past praetors. But, whereas in the Republic they were given to the magistrates immediately upon leaving their office, under the empire there must be an interval of some years, — at this period generally thirteen years. (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., p. 405.) The office was held for only a year at a time. (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i., p. 234.)

Agricola was consul A.D. 77; and the thirteenth year after this would be 90, which was probably the year of the events narrated in this chapter.

18. **Civica**: he was proconsul of Asia, and was put to death by Domitian on a charge of treason. His fate might serve to Agrĭcola as a warning, **consilium**, and to the tyrant as **exemplum.**

22. **laudare**: *i.e.*, the emissaries of Domitian.

28. **proconsuli consulari**, *a proconsul of consular rank*, as those of Asia and Africa: see note above. The manuscript reading is **proconsulari**; but this adjective could have no meaning here. The reading here given is that of Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, vol. i., p. 242, note 1. The amount of the **salarium** of the consular proconsul was one million sesterces, equal to about $50,000.

34. **irrevocabilior**, *sc.* **ab ira.**

26. 2. **illicita**: *i.e.*, revolutionary acts.

5. **per abrupta sed**, etc.: *i.e.*, such violent or offensive acts as could do no good, except to exhibit their own spirit of resistance.

CHAPTER XLIII.

7. **nobis**: *i.e.*, his family.

9 **aliud agens**: attending to something else, = *indifferent.*

10. **circulos**, "social circles," — in public (**per fora**) and private.

13. **nihil comperti**, *sc.* **esse**, "I dare affirm so much, — but no more."

16. **medicorum intimi**: there is generally thought to be here an insinuation that he was poisoned.

18. **per dispositos cursores**: Domitian was probably at some distance from the city, perhaps at his Alban villa, see Chap. XLV.

20. **prae se tulit**, *manifested.*

22. **coheredem**: *i.e.*, probably **ex dimidia parte**, that is, a share equal to that of both the others.

26. **nisi malum principem**: *i.e.*, in the fear that the bad ruler would declare the will invalid, and seize the whole, he bought him off by the bequest of half his fortune.

CHAPTER XLIV.

28. **Gaio Caesare**: this was the emperor Caligula; his third consulship was A.D. 40, that of Collega and Priscus was A.D. 93.

29. **quarto**: the manuscripts read VI°, which, as is easily seen, does not correspond to the dates of his birth and death. The mistake is one very easily made.

27. 1. **quantum ad gloriam,** *sc.* **attinet.**

3. **consulari**: this is the manuscript reading, which many change to **consularibus.** But he did not enjoy the **consularia ornamenta** (see note, Chap. XL.), but the consular dignity itself, and was therefore **consularis.**

6. **incolumi dignitate**: see in the next chapter, the indignities which followed soon after his death.

8. **sicuti . . . ita,** *although . . . yet.* The words **non licuit** are not found in the manuscripts.

10. **augurio votisque**: these words describe his sagacity in foreseeing the coming man, and the earnestness of his desires.

CHAPTER XLV.

15. **obsessam curiam**: this fact is not known from any other source.

16. **eadem strage**: *i.e.*, with one another.

18. **Carus Metius**: Metius, Messalinus, and Bæbius were notorious *delatores* or informers under Domitian. — **intra Albānam arcem**: *i.e.*, in a villa of Domitian, situated here, where he often summoned the Senate.

20. **nostrae manus = nos senatores.** — **Helvidium**: this was a son of Helvidius Priscus, mentioned in Chap. II.

21. **Maurici Rusticique**: these were two brothers belonging to the Julian gens. — **visus** is, by zeugma, subject of **perfudit** (= **perculit**).

23. **Senecio**: see Chap. II.

32. **ejus**: Tacitus passes here from address to narration.

28. 3. **ante quadriennium**: Tacitus was prætor A.D. 88, and appears to have left Rome the next year for some office in a province. He returned to Rome shortly after the death of Agricola.

CHAPTER XLVI.

10. **domum tuam,** *thy household:* in apposition with **nos.**

13. **aemulatione**: the manuscripts read **militum** and **multum**: they also omit **quam** in the line above.

27. **fama rerum**: *i.e.*, history. **Fama** is ablative of means, or may perhaps be taken as governed by **in.**

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